DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 481 793

FL 027 875

AUTHOR	Katz, Stacey
TITLE	Near-Native Speakers in the Foreign-Language Classroom: The Case of Haitian Immigrant Students.
PUB DATE	2003-00-00
NOTE	31p.; In: The Sociolinguistics of Foreign-Language Classrooms: Contributions of the Native, the Near-Native, and the Non-Native Speaker. Issues in Language Program Direction, A Series of Annual Volumes; see FL 027 869.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	College Students; *Creoles; Cultural Awareness; Cultural Differences; Foreign Countries; *French; Higher Education; *Immigrants; Language Variation; Native Speakers; Second Language Instruction; Sociolinguistics; Student Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	*Haiti

ABSTRACT

This case study examined Haitian immigrant students' experiences in the French language classrooms. It is based on surveys conducted with students and their classmates and personal observations, discussing and explaining some of the misconceptions about Haitian immigrants and describing the Haitian students' experiences learning French in the United States. Participants were 22 Haitian, 16 non-francophone, and 7 Belgian and French students enrolled at a New Jersey university. All of the Haitian students spoke Creole, not French, at home, and their instruction in French in Haitian schools had ended prior to high school. Results indicated that many of the Haitian students (and most of the native French speaking students) did not understand Creole's relationship to French. Non-Haitian students assumed that Haitians were native speakers of French and shared the common misperception that Haiti was a French-speaking country. Several francophone students cited cultural differences as a reason that they might not be friendly with their Haitian classmates, and they noted difficulty understanding the Haitians when they spoke. However, the non-francophone students had a positive reaction when required to do group work with the Haitians and appreciated their superior French skills. The survey is appended. (Contains 28 references.) (SM)

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Near-Native Speakers in the Foreign-Language Classroom: The Case of Haitian Immigrant Students

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Stacey Katz
University of Utah

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The Challenges Presented by the Near-Native Speaker

According to Blyth (1995) "the constant challenge facing [language] teachers is to create a sense of belonging, a community, despite very real differences in their students' L2 proficiency" (p. 170). Nowhere is this task more difficult than in a classroom composed of students whom many would consider native or near-native speakers of the target language alongside students who are traditional language learners. As Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) assert: "the exciting challenge for teachers and learners of a second language, from a cultural perspective, is to construct a context for creative and meaningful discourse by taking full advantage of the rich personal, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of the participants" (p. 203). Native or near-native speakers in the foreign language classroom can offer insights into the target culture that are extremely valuable; their descriptions of firsthand experiences often leave lasting impressions on their classmates. At the same time, their role in the communicative classroom is often ill-defined, and their effect on their classmates and even on their teachers may sometimes be intimidating rather than facilitating. As Draper and Hicks (2000) point out: "Teachers of foreign languages find themselves teaching classes in which an increasing percentage or even a majority of the students are not the traditional foreign language learners that teachers were trained to teach" (p. 16). Therefore, program coordinators and language directors must develop strategies to prepare instructors and teaching assistants to cope with many of the issues associated with the diverse linguistic populations they will find in their classes. One way of doing so is by gaining an understanding of these "non-traditional" students and their specific backgrounds and needs.

The implications of having "heritage speakers" in the American foreign language classroom have received a great deal of attention in

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2

recent years, due especially to the growth of Hispanic immigrant and first generation populations (see Andrews 2000; Benjamin 1997; Gutiérrez 1997; Pino and Pino 2000; Valdés 1995; Valdés 1998a). Draper and Hicks (2000) define a "heritage speaker" as:

> someone who has had exposure to a non-English language outside the formal education system. It most often refers to someone with a home background in the language, but may refer to anyone who has had in-depth exposure to another language. Other terms used to describe this population include "native speaker," "bilingual," and "home background." While these terms are often used interchangeably, they can have very different interpretations (p. 19).

There is a general notion that a "heritage speaker" in the United States is someone who has been brought up speaking a language other than English at home. Most researchers agree that many of these speakers should be considered native speakers of that language as well. As scholars have noted, however, the term "native speaker" is not well-defined (see Davies 1991; Medgyes 1996; Paikeday 1985), and its application to foreign language pedagogy is not nearly as clear as one would hope (see Blyth 1995; Cook 1999; Kramsch 1997; Valdes 1998b; Widdowson 1994).

What about the term "near-native speaker"? This classification is even more ambiguous. As Koike and Liskin-Gasparro (1999) explain:

> The finding from our surveys of a lack of consensus about what NNP [near native proficiency] means, along with some cavalier approaches to operationalization on the part of search committee respondents (reflected in such comments as "you know it when you hear it" and "since it is so widely used, we assumed that the profession probably agrees on what it means") is disturbing, to say the least (p. 59).

In their article, Koike and Liskin-Gasparro focus mainly on non-native speakers who consider themselves to be highly proficient in the language that they hope to teach at the university level in the United States. Perhaps a better term for these individuals would be "highly proficient non-native speakers." The term "near-native speaker" applies more aptly to speakers of the target language whose intuitions about and experiences with the target language are more like those of natives than those who have learned the language in traditional language programs. Near-native speakers tend to have been raised in former colonized countries in which they spoke and studied the target language along with their first language, often in a diglossic situation. Their language skills can be close to those of a native speaker, yet at the same time, they do not have the same level of proficiency as that

of a "true" native speaker. Unlike the native speaker, they are more comfortable in another language, and they feel that it is in this other language that they can express themselves with the most ease (see Valdman 1984, p. 83).

Although many studies have been conducted on heritage speakers in the Spanish classroom, there has not been a great deal of research done on one particular group of near-native speakers of French: Haitian immigrants who have studied French in Haitian schools and who are now studying French at an American university.[1] Because Americans have many incorrect perceptions about the Haitians and their linguistic background, it is important for educators in French language programs to have an accurate description of Haitian students' language skills. This article presents a case study that focuses on Haitian immigrant students. It is based on the results of surveys conducted with them and their classmates, personal observations, and other data. I discuss and explain some of the misconceptions about Haitian immigrants and provide a description of the Haitian students' experience learning French in the United States. The Haitians' first-hand accounts, which appear in their answers to the survey, reveal the benefits and problems linked to their presence in the American university classroom.

The Haitians are the only group targeted in this study, but its results have broader implications and can offer insights into the larger issue of the plight of speakers of "minority languages" who study foreign languages in the United States (see Valdés 1995). Through an analysis of the effects of the presence of near-native speakers on their classmates, general conclusions can be reached about how to integrate students of varying levels of proficiency and language exposure successfully into the same classroom. As the population of students studying languages in the United States becomes more diverse, it is important to examine the changing dynamics of the language classroom, as well as the language community that develops in that setting. As more research of this type becomes available, language program directors and instructors will be able to design programs and courses more effectively to suit the needs of their various student populations.

This article is organized in the following manner. First, there is a description of how the study was designed and conducted, along with a discussion of the benefits and inherent flaws of survey-driven research. The next section describes the Haitian linguistic and sociolinguistic predicament and explains why it is difficult to generalize about the Haitians' linguistic competence or proficiency in French. Then, the results of the survey are presented. Included are statements by participants that show both the reactions of the Haitian students' classmates to the Haitians in their classes and the Haitian students'

attitudes towards studying French in the United States. The conclusion provides an analysis of the diversity and proficiency issues that arise from this particular group's presence in the French foreign language classroom and gives suggestions to program directors for integrating these students into French classes. Parallels with the problems of heritage students of Spanish in the United States are drawn, and at the same time, it is argued that the Haitians need to be considered separately, since their situation is somewhat unusual.

Research Design

This is a case study involving twenty-two Haitian students, sixteen non-francophone students,[2] and seven Belgian and French students enrolled at a New Jersey university.[3] The university has a large population of Haitian students who have a noticeable presence on campus. Due to the fact that the university has a language requirement, many Haitian students choose to study French.[4] Some Haitian students enroll in classes that are too elementary for them, hoping to receive a high grade. At the same time, after experiencing success in their French classes, many decide to major or minor in French. It is important to point out that of the twenty-two Haitian students, only twelve were immigrants. They had lived in Haiti for an average of eleven and a half years and had attended Haitian schools for an average of six years. The remaining ten students were Americans born to Haitian immigrant parents, and they had lived exclusively in the United States.

The Haitian immigrant students had enrolled in university courses beginning at the third year level. They then studied various offerings, including courses in French cultural studies, literature, and linguistics. Many had taken an advanced grammar course that was required for the French major. The American students of Haitian descent were enrolled primarily in intermediate level courses in order to complete the university's language requirement. Some intended to minor in French, because they had been successful in their intermediate courses, but others were not planning to continue their study of French. All these students considered themselves native speakers of Creole, and the students who were born in the United States were bilingual speakers of English. None of the students felt more comfortable expressing him/herself in French rather than in Creole. For the survey, which was the principal instrument of this study, the students were told that they could answer the questions in English or in French, and they all chose to answer in English.

Because this project depends heavily upon surveys that were conducted with a particular group of students at one public university, it

is important to consider the drawbacks of the methodology and to examine the validity of such a case study. I would like to point out that the participating students are representative of Haitian students who attend American universities in general, since they exhibit a type of linguistic diversity that is common among Haitians throughout the United States and Haiti. One might argue that the students may not have responded objectively to the survey because I knew approximately half of them, and several had been or were currently students in my classes. In fact, I knew all the Haitian immigrant students, since they were majoring in French and had taken upper level courses with me. At the same time, however, my relationship to these students can also be seen as an advantage. They were aware of my sincere interest in Haiti and Creole, and some had participated in interviews that contributed to an article I had written about Haitian linguistic identity (see Katz 1998). Thus, they were aware that my purpose was to benefit Haitian students, and I believe that that knowledge encouraged them to take the surveys more seriously. The students also were asked not to comment on me specifically or on my classes. In addition, since the survey was conducted during my last semester as a professor at the university, the students knew that they would not have me as their teacher again. Although my bias is inevitable (I had had positive experiences working with the Haitian students and had developed close relationships with many of them), at the same time, my experience with these students helped me to develop a suitable questionnaire. I had come to recognize and appreciate many of the issues that tend to arise in a classroom with students of different linguistic proficiencies and backgrounds, and I wanted to learn what the Haitian and non-Haitian students had to say about their experience.

One survey was distributed to immigrant Haitian students and American students of Haitian descent who were or had been enrolled in French courses at the university (see Appendix A). The students were told that participating in the survey was optional. Also optional was filling out the personal information asked for at the beginning of the survey, although students were assured that their answers would be kept confidential. The Haitian students' classmates were also surveyed (see Appendices B and C). All the non-francophone students were former or current students of mine, and many were French majors or minors. The Belgian and French students (all native speakers of French) were either former students or visiting scholars in the university's French department who had had a significant amount of contact with the Haitian students.

Two major goals of the study were to examine the Haitian students' attitudes toward learning French in the United States and to

determine their role as language learners in the communicative French classroom. The Haitians' survey contained questions such as the following: Did they feel that they had an advantage because they already knew French or Creole, or did they find themselves at a disadvantage because their instructors expected them to have the same competence in French as would traditional native speakers of French? Did they believe that their teachers (and classmates) expected too much or too little from them? Did they find their teachers aware of and sensitive to their particular linguistic background? Did they think that their teachers spoke French well? Did they feel compelled to appear "native-like" to their American classmates, who might consider them to be francophone? They were also asked whether they felt Creole was a legitimate language and what they knew of Creole's relationship to French.

Another goal of the study was to discover the impact of the Haitian students on their non-francophone classmates and to analyze how the dynamic of having near-native speakers in French language classes contributed to the language development of their classmates. On their survey, the non-francophone students were asked to describe their interactions with their Haitian classmates. Were the Haitians intimidating? Were they helpful? Did they provide information that was culturally interesting? Finally, in another survey, the native speakers of French were asked whether they considered the Haitians native speakers of French and whether they felt the need to modify their French when communicating with them. The surveys were largely qualitative, as students were asked to provide essay-style answers to many of the questions. Their thoughts and comments are shared below, along with the tabulated results from some of the quantitative sections of the survey.

Who are the Haitians?

In contrast to the many Hispanic students in the United States, Haitian immigrants or the children of Haitian immigrants who study French in American schools make up a different category of non-traditional language learners. The Haitians usually do not consider themselves native speakers of French; instead they are "heritage speakers" of Haitian Creole, a language that is rarely studied in the United States.[5] Unfortunately, there is a widespread lack of understanding about the linguistic background of Haitians, Haitian immigrant students, American born children of Haitian immigrants, and also about Haitian Creole. This ignorance creates a difficult situation for all involved: the Haitian students' teachers and classmates, and the Haitian

students themselves. Webb (2000) acknowledges that when he began teaching French to Haitian immigrant students, his own insecurities made it difficult for him to know how best to work with them:

> At that time, I did not know much about Haiti, or Haitians, or the Haitian language issues, and I certainly did not speak *Créole* back then, as I do now. I did not know that [my Haitian student] was adding *Créole* to the French that he spoke. I thought that our difficulties in communicating stemmed from my own inadequacies in French, and it made me feel uneasy and insecure . . . All I know is that I did not know what to do with . . . the . . . Haitian students in my classes (p. 9).

By working closely with Haitian students, Webb has developed an understanding of the Haitians' unique situation and how it affects their learning French in American schools.

Many French teachers, however, have little accurate information about Haiti. Consider, for example, the 2001 AATF (American Association of Teachers of French) essay writing contest, which is judged by American teachers of French. A student winner wrote that it is important for people to learn to speak French, so that they can communicate with and help people from third world francophone countries, such as Haiti. Is Haiti truly a francophone country? The term *francophone* is ambiguous. Does it mean that the population of a given country speaks French, or that French is an official language in the country? The best definition of a francophone country that I was able to find comes from the an online course at the University of Minnesota at Morris entitled "Literature and Culture of French-Speaking Africa and the Caribbean" (http://genedweb.mrs.umn.edu/hum1301/info/sample/what.shtml). According to this web site, francophone countries are defined as being at least one of the following:

1. Those where the maternal language is French (Europe and Canada).
2. Creole-speaking countries (where French is usually learned as a second language, but is the origin of the creole being spoken).
3. Those where French is either an official language or is widely spoken (which were, for the most part, colonies).
4. Those where French is considered a language "of privilege", spoken only by the educated and upper classes (as in central and eastern Europe).

Categories 2, 3, and 4 can be applied to Haiti, although 4 is the most accurate description of the linguistic situation of Haiti. According to

Auger and Valdman (1999), only a small percentage (2–10%) of the Haitian population is actually able to communicate in French (p. 411). The French-speaking group is composed of the Haitian elite, a powerful minority who has a very comfortable standard of living. Clearly, in order to teach our students correctly, "French teachers need to be better informed about the linguistic situation of non-Hexagonal francophone communities" (Auger and Valdman 1999, p. 410). If Haiti is indeed to be considered francophone, it should be stressed that French is spoken only by a small minority.

In addition to the misconception that Haitians necessarily speak French, there are also misunderstandings about the Creole language. Linguists differ in their analysis of the origins of Haitian Creole (see Aub-Buscher 1993, p. 200), but most agree that it is not a dialect of French, but a separate language.[6] As Valdman (1984) explains: "French and Creole are two distinct languages, not two varieties of the same language as are, for instance, High German and Swiss German in German-speaking Switzerland. Indeed, French and Creole are not even genetically related in the way French and Latin are, for example" (p. 79). Although there are some lexical similarities between French and Creole, Creole's syntactic and morphological structures resemble African languages more than French.[7] Ferguson refers to Haiti as an example of diglossia in his seminal article (1959); Valdman (1984), however, disagrees that Haiti is diglossic, pointing out that Creole and French are distinctly different languages and that Creole may be used in most situations at the present time in Haiti (p. 79). It is important to note, however, that speaking French remains very prestigious in Haiti, and speaking it well can open doors that remain closed for monolingual Creole speakers. Furthermore, it is false to assume that if people are native speakers of Creole, they can understand French. They may be able to understand various words and expressions, since much of the lexicon of Haitian Creole is French-based; however, they are not necessarily capable of understanding a great deal of the spoken or written language (written Creole looks nothing like written French). For example, in Katz (1998), a Haitian immigrant student said that when he lived in Haiti, his mother used to take him and his brother with her when she went to public offices, since he and his brother spoke French and she spoke only Creole.[8]

Another misunderstanding about Haiti is that the language of instruction in Haitian schools is French. In the past, Haitian children were instructed entirely in French, even though, with the exception of the small group of children of the elite, few spoke French at home. Due to the educational reforms that began in the 1970s, and with Creole's receiving the status of a national language in the 1980s, Creole

is now used in many Haitian elementary schools. This change has been met with great resistance, however, and not only by the elite. Daniel (2000) explains: "The decision to make Créole one of the official languages of Haiti is considered by some to be a democratic move, a move that gives voice to most of the Haitians. Others see it as a backward move, which could cause the country to be more isolated" (pp. 176–7). Indeed, old attitudes die slowly, as can be seen in some responses to the survey. One Haitian student wrote that he believed it a bad thing for Creole to be taught in Haiti's schools:

> We have so many schools in Haiti. We have some good schools and some bad schools. The good schools, they allow every child to speak French once you are in the school's ground. The bad schools, you can do whatever you want to do. I remember when I was there, every time you said something in Creole, you have to pay 50 cents. By the end of the day, you might pay a lot of money. The teacher bought candy and stuff for the pupil who never spoke Creole.

Surprisingly, this student is not alone in his assessment. When asked whether it is better that Haitian school children are now being taught in Creole, of the twenty-two Haitian students I interviewed, only four believed this was a positive change, while eleven students were unsure, and seven thought that it was unfortunate. Their responses show the complexity of the Haitians' feelings toward their native language.

Even when American teachers of French learn that Creole is not a bastardized form of French, that Haitians do not always speak French, and that Haitian immigrants may not have studied French in Haitian schools, there are problems integrating Haitian students into American French classes because of the large disparity in the students' mastery of French. As mentioned above, only a small percentage of Haitians are actually proficient in French. Some of the immigrants to the United States are from the highly educated upper class, but if they came to the United States at a very young age and did not receive a French education in the Haitian school system, their proficiency in French tends to be minimal or non-existent. The children of Haitian immigrants often speak no French at all. As in Haiti, there is a great range in people's proficiency in French, and having a low level of proficiency is something that Haitians want to hide.

The majority of the Haitian immigrant students who took part in this study, however, should be considered near-native French speakers. They all spoke Creole, not French, at home. In addition, their instruction in French in Haitian schools was interrupted before they attended high school, and they may have received some of their instruction in Creole instead of French. As mentioned earlier, the students of Haitian

descent who were born in the United States are not near-native speakers of French and should not be considered as such. One of the issues that was revealed in this study is that often the non-Haitian students lumped all the Haitians together and did not realize that those who had not lived in Haiti were not near-native speakers of French. Unfortunately, the Haitian students' teachers often did the same thing.

The Haitian immigrant students who received a formal education in the French language in Haiti differ significantly from the Hispanic heritage speakers one finds in the United States. The Haitian immigrants are often highly literate, while the Hispanic students, like many other heritage students, have often received exposure only to spoken Spanish and have little proficiency in the grammar or spelling of the language. In addition, many Hispanic students speak a variety of Spanish that differs significantly from the pedagogical norm taught in their classes (see Gutiérrez 1997). Unlike the Hispanic students, the Haitians always know that the language they speak at home, Creole, is not the same as the language, French, which they learn at school.

Interestingly, the Haitian immigrants are sometimes obsessed with grammatical accuracy and are more prescriptive than native speakers of French. In fact, their written French is much more formal than that of students from France. For example, they tend to overuse the *passé simple,* a strictly literary tense, when writing about the past. At times these forms appear in their spoken language as well, which native French speakers find odd. The Haitians even take vocabulary from the literary texts they have studied and use words and expressions that are rarely found in modern French. At the same time, because they have received a great deal of exposure to current French television and radio shows, they know slang expressions and constructions found exclusively in the spoken language.

The Haitian students who speak little or no French are ashamed of this fact and attempt to portray themselves as more proficient to save face, especially in front of other Haitian students. As Katz (1998) explains:

> Haitians take great pride in speaking French well, since doing so shows that they are well-educated. R. [a Haitian immigrant student] said: "On a toujours tendance à dire que quelqu'un est intelligent si on parle bien le français." *'We always have the tendency to say that someone is intelligent if he speaks French well'* (p. 189).

Hence, many of the more proficient students and even some who are less so want others to consider them native speakers of French. One student admitted that if he is overheard speaking Creole and is asked what language it is, he replies that he is speaking French (Katz 1998,

pp.18–8). Even though Creole is not as stigmatized in the United States as it is in Haiti, Buchanan (1979) points out that Haitian immigrants often "attempt to recreate Haiti on foreign soil. . . . Knowledge of French becomes one way they continue to maintain social distance by excluding from their social circles and organizations Haitians of lower social standing" (p. 307). When the students interviewed in this survey were asked whether speaking and writing French well was important to them, fifteen stated that it was, while only three disagreed, and four were unsure.

Survey Results

One of the most striking revelations of the survey was that many of the Haitian students did not understand Creole's relationship to French. When asked to respond to the statement "Creole is broken French," eight Haitian students agreed; three were not sure; and only eleven (fewer than half) disagreed. Sixteen of the twenty-two agreed that "Creole is a different language from French," two disagreed (both were born in the United States), and four were unsure. When the non-Haitians were asked on their survey if they knew what Creole was, fifteen responded that they did, and only one responded that (s)he did not. Nine thought that the Haitian students were native speakers of French, three did not, and four were not sure.

The non-Haitian students' assumption that the Haitians were native speakers of French may be based on a belief that the Haitians are native speakers by birthright. According to Rampton (1990), there often exists the misinformed idea that "a particular language is inherited, either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it" (p. 97). Despite the fact that the Haitians were learning French in their classes alongside them, the non-Haitian students still considered their classmates native speakers of French. The non-Haitian students heard the Haitians' accent when they spoke English, saw that they dressed differently, and learned that they had different cultural habits. And, of course, the non-Haitians shared the common misperception that Haiti is a French-speaking country. Elementary and intermediate American French textbooks always list Haiti as part of *La Francophonie,* and news reports about Haiti often refer to it as a "French-speaking" island.

Various scholars (see Davies 1991; Medgyes 1996; Paikeday 1985) have asserted that a good test to determine whether an individual is truly a native speaker of a language is to ask bona fide native speakers whether they regard them as such. Valdés (1998b) explains: "To be considered fully native, a speaker must be indistinguishable from

other native speakers. When interacting with the individual, other native speakers should assume that he or she acquired the language from infancy" (p. 153). The seven native speakers of French were asked on their survey to comment on the French spoken by the Haitian students they knew at the University or elsewhere. Four answered that they believed that the Haitians were indeed native speakers, and three did not. In response to the question of whether they modified their French when speaking to the Haitians, five said that they did not, because it was not necessary, and two said that they did. Since this is such a small sample, it is not possible to generalize whether other native speakers would consider Haitian students native speakers of French.

Some of the French native speakers had interesting responses when asked if Creole is "bad French." One vehemently agreed:

> Le créole un mauvais français? Ah! là je dois avouer que le snobisme français ressort malgré l'influence multiculturelle de la vie universitaire. *Yes!*[9] Souvent à entendre parler entre eux aussi "sauvagement" certains élèves haitiens, c'est-à-dire sans souci d'articulation, de pose, de respect pour le côté musical du langage et en entendant certains mots qui semblaient être mi-français, mi-anglais, j'associais ce que je pensais être du haitien, à une macédoine de légumes. Les mots épluchés à vif, écorchés en fait, coupés, émincés à ne plus être reconnaissables, écrasés à ne reproduire qu'un son vaguement familier, survivant le triage et l'écarquillement par chance, ces mots-là me semblaient balancés dans la conversation comme de simples objets sonores *(noise makers).* Mais il faut dire aussi que les élèves en question peut-être utilisaient la langue comme de simples outils de travail, en vue d'apporter un message. Si ces étudiants avaient montré plus d'art dans l'expression j'en aurais eu une idée plus favorable. Tu vois, l'on ne peut vraiment se baser sur mon point de vue.
>
> *Is Creole bad French? Well, here I must admit that there is a certain French snobbery that comes out, despite the multicultural influence of the University.* Yes! *Often when I heard certain Haitian students speaking "barbarically" among themselves, that is to say without concern for articulation, composure, respect for the musical aspect of the language, and when I heard various words that seemed half-French, half-English, I associated what I thought to be Haitian with a chopped vegetable salad. Words peeled off and in fact flayed alive, cut up, sliced up to the point of no longer being recognizable, broken up such that they produced only a vaguely familiar sound, and this after passing*

through a haphazard filter—those words seemed thrown out in conservation as simple noise makers. *But one must recognize also that the students in question were perhaps using the language as a simple tool to communicate a message. If they had expressed themselves more artistically, I would have had a more favorable impression. You see, my point of view is not the best on which to form a judgment.*[10]

Others attempted to be less harsh and more open-minded, while at the same time showing their European French bias:

Je dirais plutôt que le créole est un français sans grammaire. Et que le lexique est, si ce n'est pauvre, en tout cas peu sophistiqué. Mais la langue, particulièrement orale et donc souple, exprime sa qualité selon d'autres critères. L'univers des créoles est de toute façon très différent de celui des français. Bref je ne dirais pas du mauvais français, mais un français différent. Pour un contexte socio-culturel différent.

I would say, rather, that Creole is a grammar-less French, and that its lexicon, if not impoverished, is in any case hardly sophisticated. But the quality of the language, which is quite oral and thus supple, is determined by other criteria. Anyway, the world of Creole is very different than that of the various forms of French. Briefly, I would say that Creole is not bad French, but a different French, and that it exists in a different socio-cultural context.

Another remarked:

Je ne pense pas que le créole soit du mauvais français, c'est un dérivé du français, une langue à la fois proche mais totalement différente, tirée du français. C'est une langue à part entière parlée dans beaucoup de pays aux Antilles et qui diffère encore selon les régions. On pourrait dire par contre que le français canadien, ou marseillais c'est du mauvais français, parce que c'est du français régional, avec un accent différent.

I do not think that Creole is bad French; it is derived from French. It is a language both close to yet totally different from French, from which it is taken. It is a language in its own right, spoken in many places in the Antilles, which differs moreover by region. On the contrary one could say that French spoken in Canada or Marseille is bad French because it is regional and carries a different accent.

As demonstrated by the variety of answers to this question and the lack of understanding of Creole (even by the Haitians themselves), it becomes apparent why the role of the Haitians in the language classroom is so poorly defined.

The Dynamics of a Multilingual Classroom

The Experience of the Non-Francophone Students

A class composed of a mixture of Haitian and non-Haitian students presents special pedagogical dilemmas. Some problems that arise do not necessarily derive from linguistic factors; there are also racial and cultural issues. For example, when non-francophone students were asked if they would choose a Haitian student as a partner for a group activity or if they liked to work in pairs with Haitian students, several respondents expressed indignation about the misleading question, which they apparently perceived as intending to discover if they were racist. One answered that he "wouldn't choose someone by race" and another wrote that she is "accepting of all races."

Several students cited cultural differences for why they might not be friendly with their Haitian classmates. One student remarked that the Haitians tended to "clump together in class," and that it was difficult to approach them. Another comment was: "The Haitian students kept to themselves in one part of the classroom, sometimes giving the impression of being disinterested in the class." A student pointed out: "This really is more a matter of social comfort. I would choose a friend over a classmate I didn't know as well to work with in pairs or a group." Another expressed similar sentiments: "I would choose someone I was comfortable with. I have a tendency to prefer working with females due to previous bad encounters with males (usually in a school setting), but race has nothing to do with my choices. Most of the Haitian students in my classes have been males and I tend to shy away from them."

One reason why students might not choose the Haitians for group work is that they have difficulty understanding the Haitians when they speak. Several students mentioned the Haitians' "soft, low voices," their foreign accent, their use of unfamiliar vocabulary, and their rapid speech. Five students agreed that they had "a hard time understanding the Haitian students when they speak French"; nine agreed that sometimes this was the case, and only two said that this was not a problem.

On the other hand, the non-francophone students had a positive reaction when required to do group work with the Haitians, partly because the Haitian students tended to be extremely polite and soft-spoken. Words such as "nice," "friendly," and "helpful" can be found in almost every student's comments about the Haitians, though they sometimes added that they realized that they were stereotyping the Haitians. In general, however, the Haitians were perceived as non-threatening and even comforting allies in the foreign language classroom.[11]

Perhaps most important, the non-francophone students also saw the benefit of working with students whose spoken French was considerably better than theirs. Many of the students commented on the fact that the Haitians would help them with the problems that they were having, especially with the spoken language. Their positive comments included the following:

- Choosing a Haitian partner can help with one's skills.
- Their spoken French is usually much better than mine (grammar, vocab, accent, etc).
- I think they are nice and most of the time willing to help non-native speakers with their pronunciation and classwork.
- The Haitian students' native language is French; therefore it makes it easier to work in groups with them because they might understand certain things better than a non-native.
- I appreciate the fact that someone is able to correct my mistakes while speaking French.
- I haven't had any negative experiences with the Haitian students. They were all very nice and pleasant people. It was always good to work with them in pairs or doing group work, since they seemed to know or comprehend the language a little better than other students. They were usually very agreeable, willing to help, and knowledgeable.
- [The Haitian students] can sometimes explain some things that a professor is having trouble explaining.
- I think having Haitian students was very positive because the ones I have come across have been friendly and helpful. They are always willing to jump in if you get stuck and help you find words and work on pronunciation.

The amiable personalities of the Haitians and their willingness to help their American classmates seem to be the reasons why the non-francophone students did not feel intimidated speaking in front of their Haitian classmates. When asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "In general, I don't like speaking French in front of my Haitian classmates," one student responded: "I am not necessarily more loathe to speak in front of them than generally." Of the fifteen students who answered this question, only two agreed that they did not like speaking in front of the Haitians; ten disagreed with the statement, and three were unsure.

One student wrote that her problems in understanding spoken French were not specific to the Haitian students: "I have a lot of

trouble, especially last year, understanding spoken French at all. The Haitians and all other native French speakers, as well as some non-native speakers (yourself included) speak faster than I can register." Some American students mentioned that the Haitian students spoke too quickly and used vocabulary their classmates did not understand. One student hypothesized that: "the hardest part would be understanding them, if they speak their dialect: Creole." Another student commented: "In the beginning of my college career I was afraid to speak in front of them, because I was intimidated by their ability to speak the language so much better than I could. As my ability improved, I looked forward to the opportunity to hold a conversation in French with someone such as a Haitian student who was comfortable doing so." The non-francophone students also came to realize that although the Haitians spoke better French than they did, this did not mean that the Haitian students' written work was necessarily superior. One student realized: "We are all students of European French and have things to learn and improve. While the Haitian students may have a bit of an edge, the other students may have other strengths. It is also a question of hard work, studying, and turning in assignments. It is very possible to be on the same level if not more advanced in French studies than a Haitian student." Another student remarked that seeing the Haitians having similar problems to his own made him feel more confident about his language skills: "Having Haitian students in my French classes has been a good experience, because it makes me realize that even the natives need polishing on their skills and abilities of using the language." His comments were illuminating, considering the fact that he was a heritage speaker of Spanish who had had considerable difficulty in his Spanish classes. Indeed, the Haitians provided an excellent model of the successful language learner and demonstrated that even near-natives must work hard to perfect their skills (see Medgyes 1996).

In general, the American students were delighted to have cultural informants from a francophone country present in their class. As Kramsch (1997) remarks: "Attempts have been made to expose students to the linguistic, social, and cultural diversity of those who claim to speak the same language—for example, Francophones in different parts of the world . . ." (p. 367). Commenting on the fact that some of the students might shy away from choosing Haitian partners for group work, one student said "it is interesting hearing French from . . . countries other than France." Another American learned that the Haitians "have a different perspective on culture and life in general." She went on to say that they offered important "insights into francophone cultures and different perspectives in culture and literature classes." Another student pointed out that the Haitians "could tell first-hand

stories of a culture that is French speaking, which I always appreciate." Several others mentioned that having the Haitian students in class is "a good cultural experience," or " a great way to learn about other (francophone) cultures." One student assumed that since Haiti was colonized by the French, its inhabitants would remain culturally "French": "The Haitians can give some cultural perspectives that are similar to France's (since Haiti was once a French colony)." Summing up the experience of having Haitians in his classes, a student observed: "They have been very nice, seemed to be in a good mood all the time, made class fun, shared their perspective on things, and their culture." As is discussed below, sharing their culture and enlightening Americans about the "real" Haiti are very important to Haitian students.

The Experience of the Haitian Students

The impact that the Haitian students have on their non-Haitian classmates has been described above to be overwhelmingly positive, despite the initial intimidation that the non-Haitians may have felt. It is also important, however, to remain sensitive to the pressure that Haitian students feel in the French foreign language classroom, due to assumptions that they should speak French as would native speakers. While some Haitian students are confident about their French and may sound even more native than their non-native teachers, others are nervous about making mistakes. In this section, the attitudes of the Haitian students about their learning experience in the American classroom are analyzed: specifically, their impressions of their American teachers, many of whom are non-native; their relationships with the other students in their classes; and their feelings about learning French in the United States in general.

Haitian immigrant students who have received much of their education in Haiti are often bewildered at first by the casual manner of many American professors. In Haiti, teachers are very strict, and students are severely punished for misbehaving. When the Haitians attend school in the United States, sometimes their behavior, which is meant to be respectful, is misunderstood. For example, as Webb (2000) points out, as a form of respect, Haitian immigrant students may lower their eyes when speaking to their teachers (p. 7). I have noticed that instead of saying that they do not know an answer to a question, the Haitians students may sit silently, looking down. At the same time, after being in the American system for a number of years, the Haitian students adapt. In fact, I found that once their trust had been won, the Haitians were often quite outspoken about their views.[12] Therefore, I expected them to give me honest answers to my questions about their impressions of their teachers in the United States.

When asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "I don't like to have my French corrected by American French professors," only one student agreed. Twelve disagreed, and seven were not sure. This was perhaps an ambiguous question, as students may have interpreted it as whether or not they minded being corrected in general. When they were asked to give a grade to all the French teachers they have had in the United States, the median grade was an A–/B+. Whether they were entirely honest in their assessment (since they were reporting their impressions to me, one of their professors) is debatable; as mentioned above, however, I think that the students were comfortable in reporting their true feelings.

The Haitian students take great pride in others' having high expectations for them. When asked whether their French teachers in the United States expected too much of them, only three of the Haitian students said yes. Nine disagreed, and eight said that this was sometimes the case. One student responded: "Sometimes. Because they think we understand French perfectly and it's not really hard for us. Sometimes they forget we have been living here for so long that we forgot everything that we learned in Haiti." When asked whether their French teachers have always known that Creole, and not French, was their native language, only nine responded affirmatively.

Fifteen of the Haitian students agreed that learning French was easier for them than it was for native speakers of English. Because they speak Creole, they understand a great deal of French vocabulary, and they have an easier time pronouncing certain phonemes. Some students wrote that they understood a lot of French because the church service they attended was conducted in French. Others attributed their advantage to having studied French when they were young in Haiti.

At the same time, like heritage learners who have not received instruction in the target language, the Haitian students who had not gone to school in Haiti have difficulties perfecting their spelling and grammar. Interference from Creole can make learning French even more difficult. A student explained: "One of the disadvantages of learning Creole is that it makes you forget French writing a little bit." Another mentioned that knowing Creole made him lazy when learning French. Another commented: "Because it is part broken-French it tends to make me work harder to understand French, but at the same time it can also make French easier." A student complained that Creole "is so diverse. I do not understand every Haitian 100% when they speak. It is not considered as a language. If you learn it, it won't do any good for you because you will not use it." Another commented that Creole is "not one of the main languages in today's society. I'm sure Spanish may help more than Creole."

When asked what the hardest thing about learning French in the United States was, however, only one student cited the influence of Creole. The fact that most of the Haitian students were still trying to master English was considered much more of a problem: "Sometimes I pronounce the words with an English accent instead of a French"; "The hardest thing about learning French in the U.S. is that the books are written in English and that somehow confuses me"; and "Understanding the grammar since it is not like English grammar." One student summarized the problem: "The hardest thing about learning French in the U.S. is that English keeps on getting in the middle of it."

In Haiti, unlike in the United States, students always had the opportunity to practice their French outside of class should they so desire. Now, the Haitian immigrant students have gone from learning French as a second language to learning French as a foreign language, which makes it much more difficult. Several students brought up this point when explaining the most difficult thing about learning French in the United States: "I don't have my friends to practice it"; "Not having people who speak French on an everyday and hour basis"; "You can't really practice your French outside of school"; and simply "Practicing it." A student, whose French happens to be quite good, lamented: "It is sad because I look like someone who has never been exposed to that language. You can learn it, read it, write it, but unless you have somebody to speak with, it won't do you any good." Indeed, this student has put his finger on the biggest problem with learning languages in the foreign language classroom. An hour a day simply does not provide enough input or the opportunity to practice what one has learned.

Haitian students have high standards for themselves and can be very critical of their own French, but they do not seem to hold their classmates to the same requirements. Six agreed that they felt embarrassed speaking French in their French classes (sixteen disagreed), and seven agreed that they felt embarrassed speaking French in front of French people. The same student mentioned above, whose French is very good, explained that he is hesitant to speak in front of French people, because: "I am afraid I might make some mistakes. I have three friends who are French. One of them always called me. She always speaks French. Sometimes, before I say something, I have to think about it because I don't want to make any mistake and she thinks I speak French perfectly. Therefore I have to be careful about everything I say." Ironically, one of the French native speakers interviewed said that she was always careful when speaking in front of the Haitians, because she had the impression that they were always waiting for her to make a mistake.

Some children of Haitian immigrants are self-conscious about not understanding the difference between Creole and French. As much as their Haitian heritage is important to them, they are Americans and know little about Haiti and the Creole language. An intermediate level student who was born in the United States commented that she was embarrassed to speak in front of French people: "As a person who speaks Creole, sometimes I incorporate Creole by force of habit and I feel as though I am making a mockery of the French language." It is true that her spoken French is at the same level as that of her classmates in terms of its grammatical accuracy, but her pronunciation and fluency are markedly better.

Indeed, the Haitian students often possess contradictory and confused feelings toward their native Creole. At the same time, they tend to have a strong national identity and pride in being Haitian. When asked whether they wanted people to know they were Haitian, students unanimously agreed. An immigrant student wrote: "To deny that I am Haitian would be to deny myself, my whole being." Another immigrant said: "It's a great feeling to be Haitian specially when you're speaking Creole and people be like "What's that?"" Twenty students agreed that Creole is a beautiful language. Only two concluded that French is a more beautiful language than Creole, although eight were not sure: "Each has its good qualities. French is definitely more seductive"; "I like Creole because it's different and I like French because it's soft and romantic"; "[French] sounds better. Not as rough. Sounds smoother." At the same time, they spoke of mixed feelings about their national origins. One student commented: "Many people that are Haitian won't let others know their nationality because they don't want to be stereotyped or discriminated against. There are many stereotypes that people have about Haitians. Many people are ashamed to let people know their nationality because of this." Conversely, Haitian immigrants use their language and linguistic identity to avoid being grouped with African Americans (see Buchanan 1979; Katz 1998). The Haitian students believe that the main advantage of knowing Creole is that it is a link to their families, their heritage, and their culture. They would like Americans to learn to speak Creole, but they are more interested in Americans' understanding and appreciating Haitian culture and history. The Haitian students want their classmates to learn what they consider to be the truth about Haiti and put an end to misconceptions and stereotypes. The following are the most commonly mentioned facts about Haiti that students would like Americans to know:

- People should not believe everything they see on television or read about Haiti.

- Haiti was the first Black republic and has a very rich history.
- Haitians are a proud and dignified people.
- Haiti is a beautiful country, despite the widespread poverty.
- Not all Haitians are "voodoo practicing, devil worshippers." In fact, most Haitians are Christians.

An immigrant student advised: "To learn about Haiti is to travel to Haiti, to learn about the culture of the Haitians, to listen to the way in which some Haitians choose to speak Creole and French up on the hill and at all the prestigious institutions." Through their presence in United States French classes, the Haitians are able to share their perspectives with their classmates, especially if instructors give them the opportunity to express themselves.

Conclusion

Blyth (1995) states: "There are many immigrant communities throughout the United States that are readily available to foreign language education . . . Foreign language teachers will have to decide for themselves how best to use these largely untapped resources" (p. 172). In order for teachers to tap these resources, it is vital that everyone involved understand the linguistic backgrounds of these heritage, near- or non-native speakers. As Auger and Valdman (1999) point out, "French teachers should know that French is spoken by only a minority of the population of many so-called francophone countries" (p. 411). In the case of the Haitians, teachers should make an effort to find out which students have studied French in Haiti and/or speak French at home, and which ones know exclusively Creole. In addition, teachers should make the other students in the class aware that Creole is not broken French and that most of the Haitians are also learners of French.

How does one create linguistic awareness? As Gutiérrez (1997) and Andrews (2000) have pointed out, it is advantageous for program directors to integrate sociolinguistic topics into today's curricula. Discussing linguistic variation, attitudes towards stigmatized languages, and the linguistic identities of various groups is important in today's classroom. This type of information should be included in textbooks, beginning at the elementary level. Pino and Pino (2000) found that students of Spanish greatly appreciated receiving material to help them understand Southwest Spanish and what makes it unique. The same should be done for Haitian Creole. Students could be taught about the concept of diglossia, the effects of colonization, and the use

of language as an instrument of oppression and exclusion. As one Haitian student wrote in an essay:

> C'est peut-être bizarre, mais les problèmes que Haiti souffre aujourd'hui sont enracinés dans la langue. Je ne pense pas que la langue française est mauvaise, mais beaucoup de gens l'ont mal utilisée pour faire souffrir les pauvres qui ne peuvent pas aller à l'école.
>
> *Perhaps it's strange, but the problems that Haiti suffers today are rooted in language. I don't think that the French language is bad, but a lot of people have used it badly to make the poor people who can't go to school suffer.*

American students need to be made aware of these kinds of issues in order to understand the implications that speaking or not speaking a particular language can have for many people. Teaching assistants need to be exposed to this information, and they need to learn strategies for integrating it into their classes.

After solving the problem of how to create language awareness, teachers then face the issue of how to deal with heterogeneous language proficiencies in the same classroom. As discussed by Pino and Pino (2000), it is vital that students be placed into appropriate course levels (p. 27). The situation of the Haitian immigrant students is not complicated since those who speak French well usually have studied the language formally in Haiti. These students also have strong writing skills, and they can easily be integrated into upper level classes. Those who know Creole but have not studied French are in a more complex situation. They may have somewhat of an advantage in understanding the spoken French language and in speaking, but their proficiency is usually minimal. Students need to realize that the spoken and written codes of a language differ significantly, and that being fluent does not necessarily mean being literate. Armed with greater language awareness, instructor and students can work together to cultivate a supportive and dynamic learning environment for all.

Notes

1. There are large numbers of Haitian immigrants in New York City, Northern New Jersey, Miami, and Boston.
2. I will refer to the non-native speakers of either French or Creole simply as "non-francophone" students. Some of these students are native speakers of other languages (for example, Spanish or Polish), and therefore cannot be called "anglophone."
3. This survey was conducted in the spring of 2001 at Montclair State University. I would like to thank the students who agreed to be interviewed.

4. It is interesting to note that being fluent in Haitian Creole is not considered adequate for placing out of the language requirement at many universities in the United States. This practice goes along with the widely held misconception that Haitian Creole is not a legitimate language.

5. Creole is currently being taught in a handful of American universities. In addition, some public secondary schools with large Haitian populations have incorporated Creole into their curricula (see Daniel 2000).

6. It is important to note that Haitian Creole differs significantly from the French-based Creoles spoken in Martinique and Guadeloupe. One student's father was from Haiti and her mother was from Martinique. Because they could not understand the other's Creole, they spoke French to each another.

7. See Valdman 1982 and 1984 for a description of some of the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic properties of Haitian Creole.

8. Apparently his mother needed an interpreter, but there are probably other factors that play a role in this situation as well. This woman knew that she would be treated better if she had her French-speaking sons with her, since speaking French conveys social status and implies having received a good education.

9. All English words were written by the French correspondent.

10. Native speakers of Spanish who have had contact with heritage speakers of Spanish in the United States tend to have similar impressions of the latter's Spanish (see Colombi and Alarcón 1997; Merino et al. 1993; Valdés 1998).

11. These results appear more positive than Pino and Pino's (2000) study, in which 25% of the true beginners in classes with heritage students agreed that they felt intimidated by more proficient learners. On the other hand, the students in the current survey are not true beginners, so it is not a fair comparison.

12. For example, I remember when the Elian Gonzales story was in the news, my Haitian students were quite candid during class discussions. They considered the immigration policies of the United States hypocritical and racist. Several of the students angrily argued that had Elian been Haitian, he would have been returned to Haiti in a matter of days.

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Appendix A

Survey for Haitian Immigrant Students

Instructions: Please answer all the questions below to the best of your knowledge. Detailed answers would be greatly appreciated. Thank you very much for participating in this survey.

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. phone number:
4. e-mail address:
5. Where were you born?
6. How many years have you lived in the U.S?
7. How many years did you live in Haiti?
8. In what year did you leave Haiti to move to the U.S?
9. Have you lived anywhere else?
   If yes, where and for how long?
10. How many years did you go to school in Haiti?
11. When you went to school in Haiti, were classes conducted:
    a. Exclusively in French
    b. Exclusively in Creole
    c. In both French and Creole

    If you answered *c*, what percentage of the time was French used _____ %, and what percentage of the time was Creole used: _____ % in your classes?
12. What language(s) do you speak with your family? Please list them in order of how often you speak each language; then give the percentage of time you spend speaking each language.

Language 1	_____ %
Language 2 (if applicable)	_____ %
Language 3 (if applicable)	_____ %
Language 4 (if applicable)	_____ %

13. What is the language that you learned first?
14. In which language do you feel the most comfortable doing the following things. Please rank them from 1 to 3, which 1 being the MOST comfortable, and 3 being the LEAST.

Speaking	Creole _____	French _____	English _____
Writing	Creole _____	French _____	English _____
Reading	Creole _____	French _____	English _____
Comprehending the spoken language	Creole _____	French _____	English _____

15. When you moved to the U.S., did you have classes taught to you in another language (did you participate in a biligual program)?

    Yes No

    If yes, what language(s):

    and for how many years?

16. How many years have you taken French courses in the U.S.?
17. Number of years before college:
18. Number of years at college:
19. How many teachers of French have you had in the U.S.?
20. Please rank these teachers on the level of their French (do not use their names): for example: Teacher 1: B+, Teacher 2: A-, etc. (Please do not include Dr. Katz, since she is conducting this survey)

    Teacher 1

    Teacher 2

    Teacher 3

    Teacher 4

    Teacher 5

    (please add more, if necessary)

21. Is French easier for you than it is for native speakers of English?

    Yes No

    Why or why not?

22. What is the hardest thing about learning French in the U.S. for you?
23. Do you feel that your French teachers expect too much of you?

    Why or why not?

24. Have your French teachers known that Creole is your native language, and not French?

    always sometimes rarely never

25. If you had the choice, would you study Creole instead of French at the university?

    Yes No Not sure

26. What are the advantages of learning Creole?
27. What are the disadvantages of learning Creole?
28. Do you think that Americans are ignorant about Haiti and Haitians?

    Yes No Not sure

29. What would you like for Americans to know about Haiti? Please be specific.
30. Should Haiti be studied in French classes in the U. S.?

    Yes No Not sure

31. Should American students study Creole instead of French?

    Yes No Not sure

32. Is it a good thing that Haitians living in Haiti can go to school and be taught in Creole instead of in French now?

Yes No Not sure

Please explain your answer:

33. Has speaking French opened doors for you that would not have been opened otherwise?

Yes No Not sure

If yes, please explain:

34. Do you think that French courses in American universities are too Paris-oriented?

Yes No Not sure

35. Do you think that Creole is a beautiful language?

Yes No Not sure

36. Do you think that French is a more beautiful language than Creole?

Yes No Not sure

37. What aspects of Haitian culture should be included in American classes?

Agree or Disagree: (feel free to comment in the margins, if you wish)

Haiti is a francophone country.

Agree Disagree

Creole is a different language from French.

Agree Disagree

I like it when my French teacher brings up Haiti in class.

Agree Disagree Haiti is never brought up

I feel embarrassed speaking French in my French classes.

Agree Disagree

If you agree, please explain why:

I feel embarrassed speaking French in front of French people.

Agree Disagree

If you agree, please explain why:

I enjoy speaking French.

Agree Disagree

My children will speak Creole

Agree Disagree Not sure

What would you like American teachers of French from around the country to know about teaching Haitian immigrants and about integrating Haitian topics into their classes?

Appendix B

Survey for Classmates of Haitian Immigrant Students

I. General information:

a. Your name:

b. What is your major?

c. Please list the French courses you have taken at MSU:

d. In general, what grade do you usually get in your French classes? (ex: B-range, C-range, etc.)

II. Choose the appropriate answer:

All the following statements refer to the Haitian students who have been in your FRENCH CLASSES with you.

1. usually know who the Haitian students are.

   Yes No

2. I like to do pair work with Haitian students.

   Yes No Not sure

   please explain your answer

3. If I have the choice, I'll choose a Haitian student as my partner for a group activity.

   Yes No Not sure

   please explain why or why not:

4. Haitian students are native speakers of French.

   Yes No Not sure

   comments:

5. I have a hard time understanding the Haitian students when they speak French.

   Yes No Sometimes

   comments:

6. In general, I don't like speaking French in front of my Haitian classmates.

   Yes No Not sure

   please explain:

7. I don't think that it's fair for my French to be compared to that of the Haitian students.

   Yes No Not sure

   please explain:

8. I know _____ about Haiti.

   a. very little b. a little c. a fair amount d. a great deal

   If you answered c. or d, how did you learn about Haiti?

9. I would like to know more about Haiti.

   Yes No Not sure

III. General Questions:

1. Why do you think that the Haitian students are taking French at MSU?
2. Do you know what Creole is?

   Yes No

   Please explain what Creole is to the best of your knowledge, without asking anybody else or consulting any references. If you are not sure, that is fine. Please say so. Do not be afraid of giving a wrong answer.

3. Please comment on your experiences having Haitian classmates in your French classes. Please list all the positive aspects and what you consider to be the negative aspects as well. You can simply make a list, or you can write a paragraph. Any impressions that you might have would be appreciated.
4. Additional comments:

Appendix C

Survey for Native Speakers of French about Haitian Students

1. Commente sur le français des éudiants haitiens que tu as connus à Montclair State (ou ailleurs). Est-ce que ce sont des "native speakers" de français?

   Comment on the French spoken by the Haitian students you have known at Montclair State (or elsewhere). Are they "native speakers" of French?

2. Est-ce que tu modifies ton français quand tu parles aux Haitiens?

   Do you modify your French when you speak with Haitians?

3. Est-ce que tu dirais que le créole est du "mauvais français?" Explique.

   Would you say that Creole is "bad French"? Explain.

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Organization/Address: Heinle, 25 Thomson Place, Boston, MA 02210	Telephone: 617-289-7720 FAX: 617-289-7851
	E-Mail Address: sean.ketchem@heinle.com Date: 9/3-/03

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